1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8
Ge SL5

G T 114 101 197

This thorough observer of the primitive Timbira commits a single blunder in regarding his "Timbira of the lower Mearim" as of the same tribe as the Guajajára, instead of affiliating the latter with the Indians he had seen in the village of Vianna, whom he suspected, correctly enough, of kinship with the Tupinambá. At the opening of the nineteenth century the Guajajára of the middle Pindaré had probably been cut off from all contact with civilization by the warlike Gamella of Vianna and the Timbira of the lower Mearim, Grajahú, and Pindaré, so that they were known only by name. For in 1820 Pereira do Lago, too, confuses them with the Timbira in question; and Martius' statements concerning this Tupí people are extraordinarily contradictory. Now he treats them as descendants of the Tobajara, then he equates them with the Buco-Bûs, that is, Pukóbye; and finally they turn into a horde of Mundurucú.[34]

Critique of Martius.—Unfortunately Martius' personal contacts with Timbira were limited to a brief meeting with a troop of some twenty Krahõ' and Apa'nyekra who were visiting the town of Caxias in 1819. In his masterly fashion he describes the impressive appearance and behavior of these Indians, establishing the complete similarity of both tribes as to looks, manners and speech. All his other statements about the Timbira, as well as other Maranhão tribes, were derived from personal communications by Ribeiro and by Luiz de Oliveira Figueiredo, who had for seven years served as judge in Caxias.[35]

Subsequently Martius for the first time determined the linguistic and cultural affinity of the Timbira with a considerable number of other tribes in Goyaz and the adjoining districts of Maranhão, Bahia, Piauhy, and Pará. All these he grouped together as Gêz, recognizing a Southern branch, viz. the [Southern] Cayapós, Chavantes, Cherentes, and Chicriabás; and a Northern branch, viz. Gêz proper, Crans, and Acroás. As members of the stock he further included the Masacará, Aracujá, Pontás, Geicós, and Gogués.[36]

G T 114 174 171

The dichotomy rests on the ending of the tribal names, either -gêz (=ye) or -crans (=kra). In contrast to Ribeiro, Martius defines only the latter as Timbira. He further considers it likely that the Crans were the "sons"—a recent offshoot—of the "paternal" Gêz proper. For, he argues, the Crans occupy the northernmost tracts (which is the precise reverse of the contention in his other work),[37] while the Gê stock as a whole had undoubtedly moved from the south northward. He further tried to derive certain Cran "clan" names from Gêz equivalents.

It seems worth while to examine these conjectures, for which purpose we may first of all determine the meaning attached to the terms Timbira, Cran, and Gêz.

According to Martius, the term Timbira is referred by some to the custom of wearing tight armlets and footbands of bast (= embira, imbira), but he himself is inclined rather to derive the word from tembetá, tembetara, the Tupí term for a lip plug. Apart from the phonetic impossibility of deriving the term Timbira from tembetara, only a small section of the Timbira branch perforated the lower lip. Ribeiro had already separated the Gamella, who were conspicuously labret wearers, from the Timbira, with whom Martius, to be sure, erroneously classes them. On the other hand, the earplug is indeed a tribal badge of the Timbira, but (contrary to Martius' apparent assumption) the word for labret cannot be extended to these ornaments, for it is derived from tembé, lower lip. Nor will imbira, the designation

[34] Martius, Beiträge, 1:193, 286, 394.
[35] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:818–825.
[36] Martius, Beiträge, 1:257 f.
[37] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:823.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Ge SLS

for bast in the northern lingua geral, serve the purpose since it leaves the initial T unaccounted for.

I, too, assume a reference to the bands these people wear—not only on their arms and feet, but also below the knee, on the wrists, around the neck, the chest, and the forehead. However, the name is not derived from imbira, bast, but is a compound of tĩ, to bind, and pį́'ra, passive, with the initial "p" of the second element transmuted into "mb" because of the preceding nasal vowel. Thus, the term Timbira would correspond to "the bound ones,"—but only on the assumption that the tribal name is of Tupí origin, which cannot be treated as a priori certain.

Cran or rather kra does mean "son," but also "tribe" or "people." For example: ampó kra ma ka, Of what tribe are you? i pe Apą'nyekra, I am of the Piranha tribe. However, in the formation of tribal names this kra is commonly preceded by the particle kame, of which me- precedes only nouns referring to human beings, while I am not very clear as to the manifold uses of ka.

Gêz is the rather infelicitous Portuguese rendering of the suffix ye (Apinayé ya) in Timbira speech. It terminates only designations of kinship, social functions, and tribal names of the Timbira. In the two latter instances it is generally, though not invariably, preceded by kate. This suffix designates the person owning the thing expressed by the noun. Frequently the meaning becomes locative.

In other words, whether a tribal name ends in -kra or -ye depends solely on the meaning of the substantive used. The -ye tribes cannot be separated from the -kra tribes, nor can either group be legitimately made to descend from the other. Ribeiro remained quite free from this error. Actually, the Timbira of Cajuapára are called indiscriminately Pihą'kamekra or Krẽyé; while the Krahõ'. are subdivided into the Mąkamekra (mą, ostrich; ostrich people) and Kenpókateye (kenpo, flat rock; people of the flat rock).

Martius is equally in error in deriving certain kra names from ye equivalents. The names Piocabgêz and Piocamecrans are unrelated: the former is derived from pųkób, yam (*Dioscorea* sp.), the latter from pihą', weaverbird (*Cassicus* sp.). Similarly, the term Poncatagêz is traceable to põ (steppe), Ponicrans to apą'n (piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]). The illegitimacy of Martius' criteria for assuming a Bûs subdivision has been set forth elsewhere.[10]

Finally, the settlers' division of the branch into Timbira da Matta, Timbira de Canella fina, and Timbira de Bocca furada obviously cannot be taken seriously for ethnological purposes. Martius himself, in volume 1 of his Beiträge, puts the Aponegicrans (= Apą'nyekra) into the first of these groups, while in his second volume they figure as Timbira de Canella fina. Of the contemporary Gaviões, one group lives in the Amazon forests, the other on the steppe.

The discovery of the Gê stock in a wider sense is exclusively Martius' merit since he owed nothing to any predecessor. But his subdivision into Gêz proper, Crans, and Bûs rests on unacceptable principles.

Critique of Von den Steinen and Ehrenreich.—In 1886 Karl von den Steinen studied Gê languages, which he grouped together with the Botocudo and Goytacá to form the Tapuya family. In this examination he considered only tribes for which linguistic material was then available. His subgroup of Western and Northern Gê embraces the Suyá, Apinayé, Apą'nyekra, the [Southern] Kayapó, and the Krahõ'. He further adds the Karayá, an allocation unconfirmed by any of his successors. His Central Gê comprise the Šavánte, Šeréntе, Šakriaba, and Akroá; he does not so much as mention the Jaicó. Except for the allocation of the Karayá, Von den Stei-

[10] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 5 f.

14 Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Ge SLS

ably to be equated with the Krahõ') with the Bucobu, Aponegikran, and Manajó. A little farther on he cites these Temembu again as Tamembó; the Bucubu have appeared twice before as Piokobzé and Paikozé; and the Manazó, a Tupí tribe, figure twice previously as Manajé and Amanajó. The Krahõ', too, appear three times, twice among the Northern and once among the Central Gê. Rivet has, indeed, dropped the division into Gês, Crans, and Bus; but by way of compensation he separates the Apinayé, Krîkatí, and Krahõ' from the other Timbira and places them with the Kayapó among the Central Gê. For his Šavánte Opaié, who are not a Gê people at all, one must substitute Šavánte-Akwẽ.

Critique of W. Schmidt and Snethlage.—In 1926 Wilhelm Schmidt restored order by uniting the Kayapó and Akuã languages as Northern and Western Gê groups.[2] Under the head of Cayapó-Sprachen he lists Suyá, Cayapó, Caraho, Apinagés, Aponegicran, Capiecran, Timbira, Canela, and Crengez; as Akuã-Sprachen, he lists Chavante, Cherente, Chacriabá, Geico, and Acroá-Mirim. Here the only doubtful allocation is at most that of the Geicó.

The last treatise on the Timbira is Snethlage's.[3] First among Martius' successors he reverts to the designation Cran (Krãn), making it comprise the Timbira-Gaviões, Kanella, Kraõ, Apinayé, Kayapó, and Suyá. The segregation of the Krãn from among the great conglomerate of Gê peoples (*Das Herausheben der Krãn aus dem grossen Konglomerat der Gê [Že]völker*) is in his opinion the outstanding result of his researches. That this subdivision already appears in Ehrenreich's and Schmidt's schemes, seems to have eluded him.

Partly because of his reliance on Rivet, the section on History and Statistics[4] surveying the several tribes contains a series of minor inaccuracies. I venture to correct these in the order of their occurrence.

1. I am unable to discover any source suggesting that the [Southern] Kayapó who had been overcome with Bororó assistance were split into two sections that were pushed northward and southward, respectively. Actually the Southern Kayapó escaped toward the southwest; the Northern Kayapó, as Ehrenreich already stressed and as a glance at the word lists demonstrates, by no means represent the same tribe, but are clearly distinct, even though closely related.

2. "Möglichkeit besteht, dass einige Stämme, die Kaingang und Cherente Akwé ... auf diese oder ähnliche Weise (?Abdrängung durch die Conquista?) nach Süden gekommen sind." This sentence is not clear to me. So far as I know, the Šerénte never got away from their ancient habitat; and their traditions point toward the southeast. The Kaingang, too, rather seem to have pushed northward.

3. As for the Krahõ' tribe assigned by Sampaio to the northwest corner of the state of Bahia, it never existed. His informant, whom I knew personally, was a true Apinayé, who deliberately deceived Sampaio and others. I shall revert to this case.

The names Pepuxi, Puxiti, Petuxi, and Capepuxi (Kupẽpụčẽ') are evidently more or less corrupted forms of Pụčẽti, the Timbira word for the Akwẽ, hence without reference to the Krahõ', one of whose subdivisions is represented by the Mãkamekra. Purekamekran (Põrekamekra) and Noroquagé (Nyurukwayé) were tribes distinct from the Krahõ', and originally not even their neighbors. Afotigé and Otogé are synonyms for the Apinayé. It is unintelligible why part of the Krahõ' should be regarded as "possibly identical with the Caracati"; the two tribes

[2] Schmidt, Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde, 238.
[3] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind.
[4] *Ibid.*, 139–142.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Ge 515

G T4 114 174 101

have been geographically and historically distinct from time immemorial and speak somewhat different dialects.

4. The author, following Rivet, incorrectly identifies the Aponegikrãn with the Temembó and Manajó. Capiecran, Corumeeran, and Rąmkõ'kamekra all designate a single tribe, viz. the Canella of Ponto. The Sakamekrãn are neither identical with the Gamella of Codó nor do they come under the category of Canella. On the other hand, Acobu (Hakąpó) is the Timbira word for the Gamella. Of course, Apónyekrãn (or rather Apą'nyekra) and Aponegicran are merely different renderings of the same word.

5. The Tremembé could not possibly be identical with the Mujaraguano because, for one thing, Heriarte's description of the latter does not refer to any tribe of Maranhão. The Tremembé did not practice endocannibalism, but buried their dead in the sand of the ocean beach.[28]

6. It is incorrect to speak of the Temembó driving the Cannacatgé and Poncatgé out of the Rio Farinha district, especially if one identifies the aggressors with the Aponegicram, as the author does. According to Ribeiro, the Cannacatgé, who lived on the Farinha, were exterminated by São Pedro de Alcantara's bandeira in 1814; it is true that the Krahõ' (= Temembó) acted as allies of the expeditionary force.[29]

G T 114 101

7. The free Gaviões neither live on the Gurupy nor are they identical with the Krẽyé of that area or the Timbira of Araparytíua (whom I at one time erroneously designated as Mehĩ); still less can they be equated with the Urubú, a Tupí tribe. Their settlements, so far as we can at present surmise, lie near the headwaters of two rivulets which empty into the Tocantins somewhat above and below Mãe Maria, halfway between the Araguaya and the Tacayunas confluence. Although Snethlage is unquestionably right in considering the steppes the true home of the Timbira, it is an indubitable fact that a fair number of contemporary tribes of this branch inhabit the true rain forests. On the other hand, the "tame" Gaviões live in what are perhaps the purest steppe tracts of the entire region.

8. Near the sources of the Alpercatas and on the Rio Balsas there are no Indians nowadays. The former marked the habitat of the Kénkateye Canella before their extermination in 1913.

9. The statements Snethlage obtained from an old Apinayé about supposed relations of his tribe with the wild Gaviões are incorrect. The Apinayé are afraid of the tame Gaviões, let alone their wild brethren, who are shunned even by their peaceable congeners on the upper Pindaré. Snethlage's informant estimated the Krãnye population at 1000. Yet in 1914 I found the tribe to number about 100; the census of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios in 1919 sets the number at 65; and I have never known an Apinayé able to count with any assurance beyond twenty.

Omitting the distinction of Gês, Crans, and Bus because he evidently realized its inadequacy, Snethlage nevertheless retained the phrases Timbira da Matta and Timbira do Campo—notwithstanding his conclusion that basically all Timbira are steppe dwellers. How he got the designation Krãn, and especially why he invariably applies this nasalized form for the tribal names, I cannot comprehend. In his own word lists the unnasalized kra figures about half a dozen times with the meaning of "child," "son," "boy," "family." I am under the impression that he never heard the native terms for the tribes from the lips of the Indians, but adopted the forms I had used in a provisional communication to Father Koppers.[30] For example, he

[28] Betendorf, Chronica, 319.
[29] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 70, 83.
[30] Nimuendajú, Im Gebiet der Gê Völker.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

they otherwise use for the Krîkatí. The extension is explained by the Apinayé tradition which conceives all other Timbira tribes as offshoots of the Krîkatí.[88] Literally, the term signifies "ostrich tribe."

A genuine name distinctive of their ethnic unit in its totality is thus lacking among all these tribes, for which reason I have retained the term Timbira.

The neighboring Tanetehára (Tembé-Guajajára) of Tupí stock designate the Timbira as ąwįwa. Fróes Abreu spells it "Awâ," but I do not consider the word identical with Guaraní awá (man, Indian), but rather incline to see a connection with awí (different), with the secondary meaning of "false, incorrect."

The preceding chapter has demonstrated the ineffable confusion and uncertainty in the use of tribal names by various authors. As indicated, the same tribe under three synonyms occasionally figures as three separate tribes, even in the same publication. Hence it is worth while bringing order into this chaos by a closer study of the history of each tribe by itself.

Historical Survey of the Several Timbira Tribes

1. The Timbira of Araparytíua

The Timbira living on the middle Gurupy at about 3° S. latitude immigrated into that region from the Pindaré not earlier than the second half of the last century. Initially they seem to have formed part of Ribeiro's "Timbira do Baixo Mearim," to whom he assigns as their true habitat in 1819 the region west of the Pindaré.[89] But they had evidently not been living there very long, for the Jesuits who resided along this river in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries make no mention of them, referring only to the Guajajára and Amanayé.

In 1820 Pereira do Lago knows of some Timbira a short distance west of Monção, along Lakes Acará, Acaryuassú, and Jacaréuassú; at that time they were only to a slight degree hostile.[90] But as late as 1855 we learn of the order to found an aldeamento in Capivary because of the frequent attacks of the Timbira on the farmers of the Vianna municipio. The tradition of the descendants of Gamella now resident there actually confirms the presence of Timbira among the Indians of Capivary at approximately that period.[91] Possibly there is some connection between this attempt to settle the Timbira among the Gamella and the migration toward the Gurupy.

In 1862 Governor Araujo Brusque reports two Timbira bands on the Gurupy as having emigrated many years ago from Maranhão. Numbering 100 to 150, they were said to dwell on the Pitinga, a western tributary of the Uruahim, and at Anajatiua; to roam about without fixed habitations; and to have previously been in constant warfare with the Tembé.

On the Gurupy the Timbira, as well as other tribes, came under the official superintendence of that notorious exploiter of Indians, Polycarpo José Tavares, of whom it is still said that Heaven paralyzed both his hands in punishment for his misdeeds. Rebelling against their tormentor at the beginning of the 'eighties, the Timbira returned to the Pindaré under the leadership of their chief Marayú. After his death they reappeared on the Gurupy in 1889, at first living at Pedro de Amolar, where they were afflicted with the measles, whereupon they moved very close to the Tembé village of Praia Grande, attaching themselves to the Neobrazilian family Ayres Pereira. When this family moved downstream to Bôa Vista, part of the Timbira

[88] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.
[89] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 25.
[90] Itinerario, 113, 114.
[91] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 11.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

among the Apinayé proved a failure, he soon returned, subsequently conducting the Santa Thereza mission for a number of years.[a]

In 1859 Ferreira Gomes[a] visited a settlement of the Krẽyé, whom he oddly designated as "Carajás." It was situated near Imperatriz and had from 50 to 60 inhabitants, who were ill nourished and very poorly off.

A tribal list of 1861 by Marques registers wild and tame Pivócas in the company of Coroados (?) at the Pindaré headwaters; wild, as well as some tame, Pivócasmecras in villages near the Tocantins; and wild and tame Gregês between the Rio Capim and Santa Thereza. It is true that his list is not very trustworthy, for among other blunders it cites the Amanayé under three distinct names as so many separate tribes; and the distinction between Pivóca and Pivócasmecras is nonsensical. Nevertheless his records seem to indicate that part of the tribe had already retired from the Tocantins back into the interior, though hardly to the Pindaré headwaters, the frontier from time immemorial of their enemies, the Krĩkatí. More probably they proceeded to the district where they were still met in later years, viz. that of the Rio Gurupy headwaters.

At the time of Dodt's survey of the Rio Gurupy in 1872 the "Carajés" were dwelling by the eastern fork of the Cajuapára headwaters in a village of 400–500 inhabitants. For their emigration from the Tocantins region they gave the following explanation: During the men's absence from the village on one occasion several sertão dwellers attacked it,[a] abducting a number of Indian children. Then the Indians burnt down a neighboring fazenda, killing seven of the people there, and from fear of Neobrazilian revenge fled into the woods of the Gurupy region.[a]

During my stay on the Gurupy (1914–15) the Krẽyé were still living there. Their village, named Bacaba, had about 100 inhabitants in tolerable circumstances, being in a better state of preservation than the Timbira of Araparytíua. With the aid of their chief, who bore the Tembé name Arapuhá, I took down a small word list. The census of 1919 still credits the tribe with 65 souls. Not long after this the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios transferred it to Felippe Camarão at the mouth of the Jararaca, where there are at present only a few survivors.

5. *The Krĩkatí*

Krĩkatí means "big village"; it is the name by which the tribe is known not only among fellow Timbira, but even among the Northern Kayapó.[a] The Neobrazilians have transmogrified it into the name Caracaty, while the tribe generally calls itself Krĩkateyẽ (those of the village). Both appellations refer to the ancient tradition of a single large village once jointly inhabited by all the Timbira. The killing of a tame ostrich is supposed to have precipitated a bloody feud, whereupon the majority departed in separate groups, betaking themselves in different directions and forming new tribes. Only the present Krĩkateyẽ remained in the old settlement. It is with reference to this tradition that the Apinayé call this people Mãkraya (ostrich tribe), while it figures among the Kre'pų'mkateye, Rąmkõ'kamekra, and Apą'nyekra as Pẽnykõkateye (those of the mangaba water [pẽny, mangaba, i.e., *Hancornia* sp.; kõ, water]). The Neobrazilians have frequently confused the tribe with the Pųkóbye, dubbing both of them Gaviões (falcons).

Since their first appearance, which to be sure does not date back a century, until their extinction as an independent people in 1930, the Krĩkatí had never left their ancient habitat east of the Tocantins, where this river gradually changes its south-

[a] See Aguiar, etc.
[a] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 194–195.
[a] Dodt, Descripção, 121.
[a] Nimuendajú, Idiomas Indígenas, 561.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

619 175 221 on the Tocantins, whose banks the Indians visited in summer in quest of tortoises and their eggs. Express statements deny that they were then in the habit of attacking civilised travelers.

The split into Eastern (Grajahú-steppes) and Western Gaviões may date back to the closer intercourse with whites that set in after 1850. The section of the tribe that did not trust the peace overtures or spurned them on principle may then have retreated into the primeval forest in order to escape from civilization.

619 ●174 721 Subsequently the invasions of rubber collectors and later of the chestnut gatherers as well led to bloody encounters, whence the reputation of the Gaviões for great savagery. Especially in the little town of Marabá, the center of the rubber and chestnut traders, lying directly at the edge of the Gaviões region, at the Tacayuna confluence, people are constantly clamoring for the extermination of the tribe, justifying it with such descriptions as Simões da Silva in complete innocence presented to the Americanists' Congress in New York.[a]

In reality the Gaviões are by no means the bloodthirsty, predatory beasts portrayed by the pathological hatred of profit-greedy chestnut traders. Again and again they have tried—even after bloody punitive expeditions—to live at peace with the Neobrazilians on the Tocantins. But every manifestation of amiability was immediately followed by an invasion of the interior, which soon led to the killing of this or that intruder. Then there was a terrific hue and cry about "treachery," the incident was cited to prove the impossibility of peace with the Gaviões, and the Government was urged to shoot them down so as to throw open "the fabulous wealth" of their region "in the interest of the state." And the former government of the state of Pará, the very one that erected a monument to the Indian race in the Praça Brazil of the capital, actually took such measures some years ago.

619 648 178

The easily intelligible desire of the Gaviões is simply to live in peace with the Neobrazilians, without being crowded out of their villages.

In 1895 these Indians made a treaty of peace with Raymundo Liart at Bocca do Tauiry, somewhat below Marabá, and three of them visited Pará.[b] About 1912 they were in peaceable relations with Manoel da Matta in the same locality. For a number of years they have been maintaining friendly relations with a certain José Messias in Mãe Maria, somewhat below the mouth of the Araguaya, and permit him to exploit the stands of chestnut trees there. Basing their expectations on these amicable relations, which depend solely on that man's individuality, the chestnut gatherers have formed a whole village in that locality, and are constantly advancing in spite of José Messias' attempts to control them. As a matter of fact, one of them has already had an arrow shot at him. In consequence the police commissioner of Marabá, who had a short time previously shot to pieces a village of the Šikrí Kayapó in the Tacayunas region, immediately asked the state government for additional firearms and ammunition so as to be able to extend the same tactics to the Gaviões. However, the punitive expedition never encountered any Indians—presumably because its leader was the above-mentioned José Messias, who did not in the least approve of the maneuver contemplated.

In 1937 the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios established a post with federal troops farther downstream, at the Ipixuna confluence, and according to the last reports the Gaviões have put in a peaceable appearance there.

619 721 Obviously since the destruction or expulsion of the Jacundá the Gaviões have

[a] Simões da Silva, 747–750.
[b] Moura, De Belém a S. João, 200, 223–236.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

(large penis sheath), the quite general designation of the Šerénte-Šavánte in Timbira speech. Capepuxi probably stands for Kupẽpụ̃ẽ' (alien tribe of the penis sheath). At that time the Šavánte extended as far as the district assigned to the Capepuxi.

About the original habitat of the Krahõ', Ribeiro expresses himself rather obscurely. "Ribeira de Balsa" denotes not the river, but the district so called. This, as appears from the text, included primarily the region of the Rio Macapá. Strangely enough, when this author gives as boundaries of the Ribeira da Lapa the rivers Manoel Alves Grande, Sereno, and Balsas, we must not understand thereby the angle south of the Sereno, but the district to the north, since the "Lapa" for which the district was named is situated near the present Riachão. Moreover, the Krahõ' were neighbors and enemies of the Akwẽ-Šavánte, who according to Ribeiro originally occupied the country northward to the Rio Farinha and beyond the Rio Balsas, including the above-mentioned Ribeira da Lapa. Thus, the Krahõ' must have dwelt originally in the region of the Neves and Macápa, not as some assume in the southeastern panhandle of the present state of Maranhão.

However, in Ribeira's day they had already been crowded westward from these ancient headquarters into the district between the Farinha and Manoel Alves Grande, of which they dispossessed the Šavánte. Here, too, they were pursued by bandeiras and pushed toward and even beyond the Tocantins. As bitter enemies of the stockbreeders, who had ousted them from their former country, they destroyed the fazenda do Sacco in 1808 and Vargem de Pascoa in the Balsas region in 1809. Thereupon one hundred and fifty volunteers and twenty soldiers victoriously attacked one of their villages, taking seventy prisoners, who were sent to São Luiz. Then the Krahõ' begged for peace, which was granted on condition that they would abide by the treaty. Their numbers were at that time estimated at 3000."[161]

In the following year they commenced friendly relations with the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara (now Carolina), Francisco José Pinto de Magalhães, and definitively moved to the Tocantins.

Pohl's statements might suggest the inference that Magalhães first (in 1808?) made allies of the Põrekamekra on the left bank of the Tocantins, not concluding peace with the Krahõ' until they had crossed the river and come into armed conflict with the Põrekamekra.[567] In this appeasement he is supposed to have been aided by a Krahõ' mistress. In any case the Krahõ' henceforth played a double part. On the one hand, in the guise of peaceable Indians, they inflicted on their old enemies, the Eastern fazendeiros, as much damage as possible by stealing cattle and imputing the theft to other tribes. On the other hand, they were Magalhães' faithful allies in all bandeiras against the other Timbira. Naturally, Magalhães represents these expeditions as defensive measures of his own and on the part of the Krahõ', but from Ribeiro we know that the primary motive was the craving for slaves, Magalhães maintaining a brisk trade in such with Piuhy and beyond the Tocantins as far as Pará. A missionary sent to him by the Goyaz government actively participated in this business. Magalhães was even reported to have sold his one-time mistress, the Krahõ' girl he had used in his negotiations for peace.[568] His best tool in the slave raids was the Krahõ' chief Apúierît, who (as Magalhães put it) magnanimously turned over to him all of his own captives. He was subsequently poisoned by his own people.

[567] Cf. Pohl, Reise 2:182–207.
[568] *Ibid.*, 2:187.
[569] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Sao Pedro de Alcantara."

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Personally I should prefer to follow Roberts's example, but tentatively propose
131 the following explanation. Many maps, especially those of earlier date, register
101 between the Rio Corda and the upper Mearim (or its tributary rivulet, the Engeitado) a range of mountains.[96] In reality this, as in other comparable cases, is nothing but an elongated hill hardly one hundred meters above the valley of the Corda. It is visible if one looks from the Apą'nyekra settlement of Porquinhos obliquely upstream across the near-by Rio Corda. This eminence, nowadays commonly known as Pedra Branca, figures on the maps cited as "Serra da Canella" (*nota bene: da Canella*, not *dos Canellas*, as would be inevitable if it were named after the Indian tribe of that name, in whose territory it lies). Whence, then, the appellation for this eminence? The term Canella designates not only "shinbone," but also "cinnamon"; in northern Brazil there are several trees whose bark emits a cinnamon-like odor and which are for that reason quite generally called canella. Conceivably—but only conceivably—the Serra da Canella (fina) got its name from a (slender) cinnamon tree, and the Indians in turn were called after the mountain in their country.

619 101 174 *1. Kénkateye.*—The first sizable left affluent of the Rio Alpercatas is still known as Ribeirão dos Caboclos (caboclo = Indian) because it was the former habitat of the Kénkateye Canella, whose name denotes "those of the rock (or mountains)." According to Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra statements the formation of this tribe seems to be of recent date—I should conjecture about the 'sixties of the last century. It is said to refer to an Apą'nyekra band that at one time joined the Krahõ', who were uniformly friendly to this tribe. Later, the story goes, the emigrants, reinforced by a number of Krahõ', returned and settled in the region of the Alpercatas headwaters, which is known as the *travessia*. In the late summer of 1908 Kissenberth when traveling from Barra do Corda to Carolina, visited a settlement of eight huts belonging to this tribe, but did not stay more than a few hours.[97]

619 175

[161] In 1913 the approximately 150 Kénkateye living in the village of Chinello on the right bank of the Ribeirão dos Caboclos were wiped out by the fazendeiro Raymundo Arruda. With a company of fifty followers and a barrel of gin he entered the aldea to the music of an accordion, got the men drunk, put them in irons, tied them to one another, dragged them outside the village, and had his troop shoot down some fifty males. Several women were also massacred with firearms and bush-knives. Those natives who for one reason or another escaped dispersed. Fróes Abreu's account of this incident is incorrect.[98] The Indian inspector of Maranhão had the murderers put on trial, but the jury of Barra do Corda unanimously acquitted them, and even today the residents proudly point out the members of Arruda's troop who began the massacre.

619 177 114 Most of the survivors sought and found refuge with their old Krahõ' friends, among whom I saw some in 1930 at Pedra Furada. Others fled to the Apą'nyekra, and a few to the Pųkóbye and Rąmkõ'kamekra, but as an independent group they are extinct. Snethlage sets the remnants at possibly 200[99] and makes them reside on the Rio Balsas with other tribal residues—a double error. Pompeu Sobrinho is mistaken in still crediting the fraction residing among the Apą'nyekra with a chief of their own.[100]

619 101 *12. The Apą'nyekra.*—This term (or its variants Apą'nekra and Apą'nkamekra) is common to the people themselves and their neighbors. It is derived from apą'n

[96] Brué, Carte du Brésil. Niemeyer, Carta do Imperio do Brazil.
[97] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47; Araguaya-Reise, 41.
[98] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 225.
[99] Nordostbras. Ind., 142; on p. 116 he only speaks of "several" (*einiges*).
[100] Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 5.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

sources of that rivulet. Unable to maintain themselves in independence, they sought and found refuge, about the turn of the century, among the Ramkõ'kamekra, fusing with them so as to lose their separate existence. According to their own statements their ancient language was wholly identical with that of the Ramkõ'kamekra.

15. Extinct Tribes

Concerning the following four tribes, now wholly extinct, there is a complete lack of linguistic or ethnographic material. Nevertheless, judging from the references to them in the literature and in contemporary Timbira tradition, the first two were almost certainly of Timbira affiliation, the two others at least probably so.

Karēkateye.—Their name is derived from karē (mud). Their identity with the older authors' Caracategé and Canacategé is pure conjecture on my part. According to Ribeiro, the Cannaquetgê (Canaqtegê) occupied a village on the Rio Farinha until 1814.[196] In that year they asked for peace, which was denied because, as Ribeiro remarks, slaves were needed. The bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara with Krahõ' allies attacked them, enslaved a goodly number, selling them to Pará, and caused the dispersal of the rest. On the other hand, Pinto de Magalhães represents himself and his Krahõ' as victims of the Canacategé.[197]

Subsequently the Caracategé are associated with the banks of the Grajahú immediately above the sites occupied during the past decades by the Kre'pų'mkateye. In 1851 they, jointly with the Gaviões, are located on the Grajahú between Tapera Leopoldina and Chapada (= Grajahú).[198] In 1853 they are said to reside at Jussaral on the Mearim—an unintelligible statement since, so far as that region has been known at all, its forests have been occupied only by Guajajára.

These Caracategé are conceivably the ancestors of the present Kre'pų'mkateye, but it is also possible that they are identical with the Karēkateye of Ramkõ'kamekra tradition. According to the latter, the tribal remnants joined them and were taken into their community. At certain ceremonies of the tamhą'k (p. 217), where the inhabitants of Ponto figure according to their tribal descent, the descendants of the Karēkateye still form a separate little group, with a site on the north-northwest side of the plaza, suggesting that their forefathers had immigrated from that direction. This would tally absolutely with the identity of the Karēkateye and the Caracategé of the Rio Grajahú. On the other hand, their equation with the Canacategé of the Rio Farinha would have put them on the west-southwest side, contrary to the observed facts.

The Krõ'rekamekra.—The remnants of this people were adopted by the Ramkõ'kamekra under similar circumstances. Their leader at the time is said to have been a great singer. In the tamhą'k ceremonial the very few descendants of this tribe stand on the southwest side of the plaza, in consonance with their original habitat. Pinto de Magalhães[199] lists the Crurê-Camecran with nine (subtracting synonyms, only five) other tribes as living in the region north of São Pedro de Alcantara and bounded in the west by the Tocantins, in the east by the watershed, in the north by the tropical forest zone, 5° 10′; the tribe is said to be hostile to the Krahõ'. Pohl also places the Crurecamecrans on the east bank of the Tocantins, whereas Martius[200] and Cazal merely mention them as Crurecamecrans and Crorécamecrans.

Krõre in Timbira signifies the taitetú pig (*Dicotyles labiatus*).

[196] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 70, 83; Roteiro, 46.
[197] Almeida, Carolina, 52.
[198] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios."
[199] Almeida, Carolina, 55.
[200] Martius, Beiträge, 2:204. Cazal, Chorographia, 2:293. Pohl, Reise, 2:211.

[1 i.e. the Cą'Kamedra --- Analyst.]

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Branca (pl. 1, *a*) the Krahõ′ had a similar hut, which stood about three hundred meters behind the circle of houses.

Several Indians engaged in pig breeding had erected well-built roofs 2 m. square under which the beasts could sleep in bad weather if they so chose; they were not forcibly enclosed there. The tame taitetú pigs always used for ceremonial slaughter at certain festivities are kept in cages 1 m. high, which the owners generally put up in front of their houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. A cage consists of upright poles roofed with palm fronds.

The few Indians who raise fowls keep them behind the dwelling in little gable roofs resting directly on the ground and constructed of poles, pieces of bark, and old mats. At night they are barred with pieces of wood. The structure, like the poultry itself, was borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

The exceptional little stall for strangers which the Apą′nyekra put up in Porquinhos has been mentioned (p. 40). No Timbira tribe has a men's or bachelors' house corresponding to the warã of the Akwẽ-Seréntе.[35] Meetings are held in the plaza outdoors, which is also the general sleeping place of the young men.

Away from the village the Rąmkõ′kamekra, so far as they require any form of shelter, erect the following forms of hut. If the cultivated plots are far away, a hut is put up for the period that requires the owners' presence. Such a structure is not erected in the plantation itself, but in the steppe in front of the *galeria* forest. Usually it is rectangular and gable-roofed, smaller and less massive than the fixed dwellings. However, occasionally the old beehive type (ikré yiróno) occurs—a hemispherical form about 1.80 m. in height inside. The framework consists of eight or more thin trunks stuck into the ground in a circle and bent together at the top, the branches being interlaced into walls, or—rarely—tied together. There are no special horizontal hoops. This skeleton is covered round about with palm fronds, their tips up, their ribs in vertical position; other fronds are laid on top crisscross. This shelter, if carefully set up, is altogether rainproof except for some leakage at the bottom. On one side there is left an entrance 1½ m. in height.

Similar, but as a rule less carefully built, are the huts of temporary encampments, such as all the steppe Timbira erect when large companies of them are hunting or away for some special task. In that case the arrangement of the huts is uniformly circular, all doors facing the center, and the female owners observe the same order that prevails in the village. These huts are made exclusively by the women; even men who camp beyond the settlement without their families never erect such structures (pl. 7, *a*).

The question now arises: Did the Timbira originally have only such beehive huts or did they have larger, substantial dwellings in their fixed villages? Several facts support the latter alternative. The beehive huts cannot accommodate either the regular platform beds or the elevated compartments of the young girls, or an extended family. Further, it would be impossible to shelter the boys in a single house on the east or west side during the first stage of initiation, for even in 1930 there were twice sixteen novices among the Rąmkõ′kamekra, and the number was doubtless larger in former times. It would be equally impossible to put up a special cell in a beehive hut for one or more boys at the terminal phase of initiation. Moreover, a beehive hut could not serve as the meeting place of any of the festive societies, with their membership ranging from 15 to 30; and to an even greater extent does the vų′tę′ institution (p. 92) require large houses, for in 1933 the number of men who assembled was 54 and 57, respectively. I am convinced that if all these cere-

[35] Nimuendajú and Lowie, 408.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

monials had formerly been held outdoors or in specially erected structures, the usage would have survived in at least the majority of the cases. On the other hand, the localization of the ceremonies in definite houses of the village circumference indicates that they have taken place there since ancient times. However, it is impossible to determine at present what form these houses originally had. Nowadays the Indians assert that they always had the same shape as today, which is certainly contrary to fact.

Besides the rectangular gable-roofed and the beehive types, the Eastern Timbira employ a number of simpler types of shelter. There are oblique wind screens of palm fronds set against a pole placed horizontally in the branches of two neighboring trees or resting on forked posts. Instead the leaves may be set into the ground in a semicircle, yielding a semiconical wind screen, such as Snethlage observed and as I have several times seen as the first shelter on a house site within a newly laid out village. Rectangular frames resting horizontally at a man's height on forked posts and covered with a few transverse poles and fronds are seen only at festivals on the open steppe; they share the name of the windscreen, ikrépo. Neobrazilians, too, always put them up beside their houses during a celebration. They are sunshades which afford no protection from rain.

Single travelers obliged to spend the night outdoors or surprised by a storm en route cover the top of a bush with branches and palm fronds for a shelter. Or they fasten together the fronds of two appropriately distant paty palm shrubs without cutting them off and thus form a sort of sentry box. During prolonged ceremonies in the plaza the spectators often make mats into sunshades by leaning them against any prop planted into the ground, such as a bow or sword club, or against their own backs.

Finally, at the east end of the Serra do Noquem, eighteen kilometers south of the Krahô' village of Pedra Branca, I saw a cave which these Indians occasionally used as a shelter and there were fireplaces at the entrance.

Dress and Adornment

Formerly both sexes in all Timbira groups were completely unclothed. For the most part the men still go naked. In such villages as Ponto, through which Neobrazilians frequently pass, the Indians generally keep at hand a piece of cloth the size of a handkerchief, which they thrust in front of their girdles when obliged to meet civilized folk to whom they consider this concession necessary. With the visitor's departure, however, the cloth is promptly removed, twisted together and tied round the forehead, the upper arm, the handle of a club, or the end of a bow.

Pukóbye girls still go stark naked until puberty. In other tribes the majority when about six years old, though some not before the tenth year, begin to cover the hips with a piece of cloth extending approximately to the knees and knotted or turned down at the left hip (pl. 3, *b*). Among the Krahô' some wear only a small strip like the men's. Except at dances, Rąmkô'kamekra women or young girls rarely appear without this garment nowadays, but when by themselves they frequently remove it. The men inveigh against this offensive but growing feminine custom of constantly wearing a loincloth. During one dance I saw the chiefs summon a man and order him to remove the loincloths of all women performers, who offered not the least resistance.

Such appurtenances of civilization as trousers, shirts, and skirts appear most frequently among the Kre'pų'mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytiua.

At present a number of Rąmkô'kamekra men constantly wear a leather belt with

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Ge SLS

divided (according to their own account) into those anciently known and those adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians.

Aboriginally known:

Maize, pĩkỹ' (*Zea mays*)
Sweet potato, yąt (*Batatas edulis*)
Yam, krĩrõ' (*Dioscorea* sp.)
Manioc, kwųr (*Manihot utilissima*)
Sweet manioc, kwųr-kahę'k (*Manihot aipi*)
Horse bean, pąakrỹ' (*Phaseolus* sp.)
Arrowroot, kurĩare (*Maranta* sp.)
Gourd, hõkõkahę'k (*Cucurbita* sp.)
Ground nut, kahę' (*Arachis* sp.)
[European name lacking], kupá (*Oleum* sp.)
Cotton, kaỹ'k (*Gossypium* sp.)
Bottle gourd, hõkõn (*Lagenaria* sp.)
Cuyeté, kỹ'hõ (*Crescentia* sp.)
Cuya de rama, —— (*Cucurbita* sp.)
Urucú, pų (*Bixa orellana*)

Adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians:

Rice	Beans	Pineapple
Watermelon	Orange	Tobacco
Banana	Lemon	Timguy (fish poison)
Sugar-cane	Mango	
Cayenne pepper	Papaya	

The only plant-origin myth relates to maize and coincides with the Apinayé equivalent.[36] It combines two principal motives—the world tree and the star wife. The former occurs among Carib peoples of Guiana, having been recorded by Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipáng, by Brett among the Akawoí, by Im Thurn and Roth for the Carib proper, while Nordenskiöld reports it from the Arawakan Čáne of the northern Chaco. The other motive seems to be derived from the Serénte, who far more logically connect it not with the origin of maize, but with a visit to the sky.

Nordenskiöld derives Gê yąt (sweet potato) from Tupí yetỹ'k, which is supposed to point to a transmission of the species from the Tupí. I consider this highly improbable, for the Northwestern Gê would never have lopped off an accented syllable, but would presumably have transmuted the hypothetical loan-word into yetí (cf. below as to the assimilation of Tupí tapití). Further, there is a striking fact: Tupí agriculture stresses maize and manioc, the Northwestern and Central Gê emphasize sweet potatoes and yams, which virtually furnish their daily bread but play a more modest role among the Tupí.

In my description of Apinayé tillage I noted that the Northwestern and Central Gê probably did not acquire manioc from either the Tupí or the Karayá, whose methods of employment and preparation are totally distinct.[37] Against such borrowing may further be cited the term kwųr, uniformly distributed as it is over the entire Northwestern branch, from the Suyá to the remotest Timbira tribes. From Ribeiro's denial of the Krahõ' Indians' familiarity with *the preparation of flour*—"farinha de pau," that is, flour from unfermented manioc[38]—it does not by any means follow, as Snethlage assumes,[39] that they lacked manioc altogether. For they may very well have used it as they do today, in the form of pies baked in earth ovens. In recent times the Eastern Timbira have adopted the preparation of flour together with the basketry press, not from the Tupí-Guajajára, but from Neobraziliana. This is indicated by their designating this utensil not by the Guajajára term tipiti, but by its disfigured Neobrazilian form tapití, assimilated to Timbira phonology as tapti. They further give to the roasting pan its Portuguese name, forno.

The species of arrowroot planted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra differs from the Neobrazilian form.

[36] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 165–167.
[37] *Ibid.*, 88.
[38] Memoria, § 73.
[39] Nordestbrus. Ind., 162.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Ge SLS

Notwithstanding Ribeiro's explicit assertion that the Krahô' of 1816 did not know how to raise or treat cotton, it seems to me to have been native to all Northwestern and Central Gê before the advent of civilization. In the first place, cotton is employed in a variety of ways—in wholly aboriginal forms of industry as well as in ceremonial, notably in the boys' initiation festival. A second argument is the technique of plaiting cotton carrying slings for children, though it must be admitted that according to Ribeiro[148] their material was burity bast. Third, there is the form of the spindle, deviating from the neighboring Neobrazilian and Guajajára parallels (pl. 18, *a*); finally, all the Northwestern tribes share the same word for cotton.

Ethnographically, however, the kupé is the most important of Timbira cultivated species. This creeper (*Cissus* sp.) has starchy tendrils, which attain the thickness of an inch and are baked in earth ovens. It does not occur wild; is restricted, so far as my information goes, to the Eastern and Western Timbira and the Šerénte, all of them Gê tribes; and is pronouncedly xerophil. Accordingly, it is probably a very old cultivated species peculiar to these tribes, which could not have borrowed it from either Neobrazilians or any of their present Indian neighbors.

As for tobacco, my corresponding comment on it among the Apinayé also holds for the Eastern Timbira. Apparently they were *acquainted* with it before the coming of civilization, but even nowadays they do not plant it, the timid attempts of this or that Rąmkõ'kamekra having invariably failed to yield satisfactory results. I did not observe a single case of its magical or ceremonial use among these people. Both sexes, however, are passionate smokers and constantly beg for tobacco. They smoke cigarettes of maize husks or tauary bast; a few also use little clay pipe bowls bent at an angle, with bamboo stems (kačím; Portuguese, caximbo). The chief Kukrãčą' manufactures very pretty and neatly finished specimens, partly for sale to Neobrazilians, among whom the same form is in vogue.

Urucú and pepper shrubs, as well as sporadic *Crescentia*, mango, lemon or orange trees, are planted beside or behind dwellings, the young plants being guarded against roving pigs and fowls by little fences of vertically set sticks or by circumscribed quadrangles made of former racing logs.

The true plantations (pl. 5, *a*) are situated in the narrow *galeria* forests by the brooks. Since annually new clearings are necessary, the distance of the plots from the village steadily increases. When the transportation of the crops becomes altogether too cumbersome, the Indians are obliged to move their village near the new plots. Thus, the Rąmkõ'kamekra migrate with fair regularity about every ten years from the Ribeirão Santo Estevão to the Ribeirão dos Bois. While they are stationed by one of the two creeks for from ten to twenty years, the timber of the other grows again sufficiently to permit the creation of new plots.

Each individual family has its plantation, owned by the woman. No single man owns a plot, but many an unmarried woman claims one and gets her kinsmen to make the requisite clearings, this being an exclusively masculine task. For the last hundred years only iron axes have been in use, different brands being very well distinguished by the natives, who rightly prefer the North American "Collins" blades. No one nowadays is able to haft such stone blades as are still occasionally found. The method of felling timber with iron tools coincides with Neobrazilian practice. Though not every Indian has a good ax suitable for the purpose, he may borrow a relative's.

The several plots belonging to the married woman of an extended family usually, but not always, adjoin one another. At times one individual family may simul-

[148] Memoria, § 12.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SCG Timbira SCG

224 177 *Hunting methods.*—Traps are remarkably rare among the Timbira. The Rąmkŏ'kamekra trap doves with an elastic beam, while boys kill them with automatic bow shots set near their houses. Today men limit themselves to spring-guns when killing deer, pacas, agoutis, etc., by an automatic release; formerly they, too, employed bows and arrows. The nooses for snaring dwarf parrots have been mentioned above (pl. 17, *a*, *b*). Among the Krahŏ' I saw two deadfalls of the Mundé type current among Tupí tribes.[37] Like the pyramidal bird traps of horizontal sticks occasionally made by boys, they are evidently derived from Neobrazilians.

Except for the above-mentioned surrounding drive with the aid of fire, the Indians—even when setting out in considerable parties—hunt only singly or in pairs, whether stalking the game or lying in wait at a fixed station. Like the 231 Apinayé, the Eastern Timbira rarely hunt with their dogs, numerous as these are; ● 174 since their masters do not know how to train them they are of little use in the chase. 136 This slight utilization of the dog supports its post-Columbian derivation. However, it certainly reached the Timbira soon after the discovery, probably through intermediary tribes between them and the coast, for they do not consider the dog an item obtained from civilized people. The Krẽyé of Bacabal and the Rąmkŏ'kamekra concur in the view that they obtained dogs by stealing and raising the pups of wild dogs; presumably they have in mind the Brazilian "forest dog" (*Speothos venaticus*). However, the Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, and Krẽyé of Bacabal call the species cą (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]), while the Apą'nyekra, Kénkateye, Rąmkŏ'kamekra, and the Põrekamekra equivalent is rop (jaguar), which corresponds to Apinayé, Northern and Southern Kayapó practice.

224 Deer are most commonly hunted from a fixed station in the branches of a tree above the feeding ground of the quarry when in search of fallen blossoms or fruit. The hunter sits on a few transverse poles, waiting for his victim invariably at night. The same method is extended to pacas and agoutis.

The report of a herd of wild pigs at once sets all the hunters of the village to work. They try to sneak up from behind or, for once using their dogs, drive the pigs to bay so that they can be shot or clubbed to death. The only lance I ever saw [411] among the Timbira I obtained from the Krĩkatí, who used it for hunting pigs; it was a simple pole pointed at one end.

Anteaters, which are easily overtaken in running, are knocked down with clubs. The Timbira are not repelled overmuch by the fantastic stench of the skunk. Even after it is roasted, it retains a disagreeable odor, despite the tenderness and fatness of the flesh, but this is expressing my personal reaction, not that of the Timbira. An armadillo caught on the steppe before it is able to escape into its burrow is killed, as noted by Snethlage, by crushing its skull with a club or any hard object. But if the beast manages to flee into its burrow, it must be dug out at the expense of much labor, which, however, no Timbira begrudges, even if he is obliged to keep digging till he himself vanishes in the pit, as I have actually witnessed. None of these Indians could bring himself to pass an armadillo burrow without probing whether the animal is inside; and if that is ascertained, the digging starts at once, commonly with nothing but a stick hastily hacked into shape.

The stalker of a pampa ostrich masks himself with a disguise of palm grass hanging downward from the forehead and neck; or the hunter approaches after quickly painting himself with black stripes, the pigment being provided by the omnipresent charcoal remaining from steppe fires. During the dry season he lies in wait in a special hut, kwęk, near the watering place of the ostriches. The sariema is easily

[37] Nordenskiöld, Ethnography, 3:67, fig. 14.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

aboriginal, is the forest creeper the Timbira call ha'kró, the Neobrazilians timbó. The Indians tear it out with the roots, then wash off the earth, and tap the root on a log with an appropriate stick so as to separate the fibers. While some rinse the fiber balls in the water of the creek, others wait downstream in order to seize with their hands the stupefied fish as they drift along, or spit them on arrows, or catch the smaller fry with a scoop net, krį, this last being a conical net mounted on a hoop without a handle. My reason for regarding it as aboriginal is that, while lacking among both the Guajajára and Neobrazilians, it appears in the same form with the identical designation among the Eastern (Rąmkõ'kamekra, Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye) and Western Timbira. The small fish are collected in gourd bowls or little baskets, the larger ones are ranged on special cords, tepčečą, with a wooden tip at one end and a transverse stick at the other (fig. 6).

In drugging fish, too, they like to select a young tamhą'k, who is the first to enter the water when the stupefied fish begin to appear, while the other Indians wait on

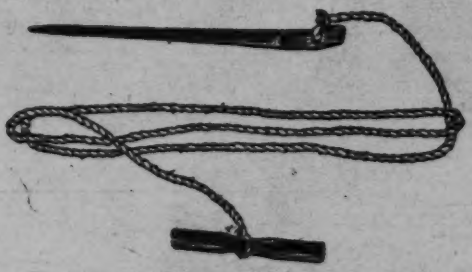

Fig. 6. Cord for stringing fish. Approx. ½ nat. size.

the bank. He spits the first three fish on his arrow, signalling for each by a shout, to which the others respond by screaming and the blowing of trumpets. Then he leaves the water and hands the fish to an old man, while everyone starts gathering the spoils.

Gathering

Gathering is indissolubly linked with nomadic or seminomadic life. Farmers in a restricted territory, like the present Timbira, cannot gather in the steppe with any measure of profit.

However, though this source of food has shrunk almost to the insignificance of fishing through the progress of agriculture and the restriction of the habitat, the Rąmkõ'kamekra still pray to the sun to protect the steppe fruits and let them grow to gladden men's hearts. This is done somewhat differently than in the corresponding prayer for game, though in almost identical words. The speaker was the oldest man of the entire tribe. He went to the plaza in the morning, rested one knee on the ground, stretched out an empty gourd bowl toward the sun, and said, "Kédeti imą ampó čo yamã ke imã hokati vayakrį'."

Before rice and manioc flour were available, when the tribal territory was about twenty times its present extent, the gathering of steppe and *galeria* fruits was perhaps proportionately greater. Ribeiro,[100] who evidently observed the Timbira with special frequency during their migratory period, enumerates the following among their wild fruits:

[100] Memoria, § 11.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

881 No sooner had the two age classes in the plaza caught sight of them than they ran shouting toward them, hurling burity staves 1 m. long at them; then they retreated to the plaza again. The girls divided their numbers along three of the radial paths and in their turn took the offensive with a volley of babassu and other nuts. They pounced upon the men, grappled with them, and tried to throw them. There ensued general wrestling bouts, lasting for only a few seconds and closing with the men's victory. Only one girl, Kentapí, bowled over her adversary. Now the two factions separated and formed two lines facing each other. Several men offered the girls the fruits they had employed in pelting. In this position they sang for a while, then suddenly united, and turned westward, yelling defiance in chorus at their western neighbors, the Apa'nyekra. Thus ended this ceremony, whose name I was unable to ascertain. It was simply designated as amnyíkapê're (amnyi = reciprocal; kapê're, throwing).

Domestic Animals

231 174 I strongly suspect the Timbira of having originally lacked dogs—in other words, any domestic animals. Nowadays every Ponto household has at least two dogs. The breed is mostly characterized by medium size and short hair, a pointed snout, and large erect ears with projecting tips. They are not badly treated, generally receiving some food after the owners' meal. Special attention is devoted to pregnant and suckling bitches; when they are about to give birth, their owners sometimes rig up old mats into a regular confinement cell for them in a corner of the house. Good hunting dogs are rare; nor are their animals particularly violent or given to biting even though they dutifully yelp at every stranger. Since they are hardly ever beaten, they are insolent and forward toward their masters. I have often admired the patience of many an Indian, who while at his meal would again and again push away his importunate dogs with a cautious movement of his hand as though he were dealing with a child. When hard put to it, a native will threaten the dog with a stick, which, however, almost always is deliberately made to strike the ground beside the beast. As stated, some dogs sleep on the platform beds with their masters. When a dog dies, it is buried like a human being, in a pit the mouth of which is covered, and earth is heaped on top.

[235] At present all steppe Timbira breed pigs and fowls, even though only in small numbers—especially our Canella, whose village harbored some forty pigs (1933) and twelve horses, to boot. They like very much to handle horses and rapidly learn to become good riders. The Krîkatí were the only one of these tribes that formerly owned a few head of cattle. Very few Timbira keep poultry, and in Ponto there were only two cats. Even today a fair number of Ponto Indians have no animals except dogs. However, Fróes Abreu goes somewhat too far in mentioning as their only true domestic beasts "several sucking pigs."[20] Most of the animals, even some of the horses, belong to the women.

231 Among the merely tamed pets from the forest and steppes the peccaries (usually *Dicotyles labiatus*) play the major role. They are caught young and grow very tame, but must generally be kept in cages to guard against constant brawls with the dogs. The peccaries receive the names of human beings. At the terminal solemnity of certain major festivals (e.g., the two phases of initiation and pepkahá'k) a peccary must be ceremonially killed, made into meat pies, and paid for. The inmates of the house loudly bewail its death, while no particular fuss accompanies the slaughtering of a domestic pig.

[552]

[20] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 178.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips
616 during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups
224 exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of kạ́'makra log making,
834 the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast
837 killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife used for cutting up the game. The atụ́'kmakra act correspondingly during the period of *their* races. During the atụ́'k period the hunters return in a race with considerably hollowed-out logs.

616 After the last atụ́'k race, which closes the meipimrạ́'k season, the women of each
527 group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and distribute them among the membership.

After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrạ́'k
616 period, the mepatạmẽwẹ́'pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place.
527 The atụ́'k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the
604 village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted kạ́'makra men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atụ́'k deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the kạ́'makra men. While this is going on, each group lauds the great number and good appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony usually closes the meipimrạ́'k season.

616 Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the hõčwi
575 society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season moieties.

On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second
616 initiation phase, that is, during the vụ'tẹ́' season. Five weeks after the beginning
881 of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded from view by large mat shields. The novices of atụ́'k affiliation left the seclusion yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night belongs to the atụ́'k." On the other hand, those belonging to the kạ́'makra did not leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the kạ́'makra." On the day that
[302] terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the *yellow* urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

616 Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own
561 and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines characteristic of the kạ́' and atụ́'k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

616 The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than
● 174 that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in
171 the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently the kạ́'makra were identical with the eastern, the atụ́'kmakra with the western moiety, the former enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy season. Only as the age classes with the vụ'tẹ́' system (p. 92) gained in importance, the kạ́'makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponto with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

as slow-moving, perseverant, and characterized by decorative painted lines; Kanyurú as nimble, inconstant, and painted with dots. All of nature was classified according to these criteria—the changing, spotted moon is Kanyurú; the sun, Kamé, etc.

Plaza Groups and Moieties

A peculiar organization, unintelligible to me in its present form, is that of the double trio of menkąčą′ groups. The term may be rendered "where or how the people stand in the plaza"; me(n) is a personal prefix, ką designates the plaza, and the suffix čą defines the place, manner, or instrument of a thing or action.

The division applies only to males, each of the six groups embracing all the bearers of a definite series of masculine names, which a boy gets by transfer from

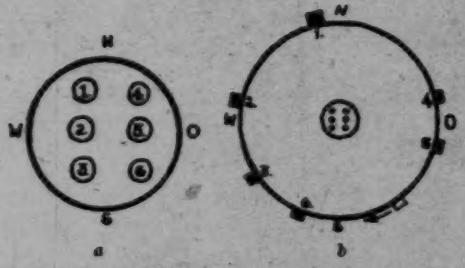

Fig. 7. *a*. Position of plaza groups: 1, Armadillo; 2, Dwarf Parrot; 3, Alien Tribe; 4, Giant Snake; 5, Bat; 6, Carrion Vulture. *b*. Position of plaza group assembly houses.

a maternal uncle. The grouping into eastern (kǫ′irumenkąčą, from kǫ̃′irum, in the east) and western (harą′rumenkąčą, from harą′rum, in the west) plaza halves has nothing to do with the exogamous moiety scheme, hence blood brothers and parallel cousins may belong to distinct plaza groups.

The scheme is as follows:

kǫ′irumenkąčą (eastern)	harą′rumenkąčą (western)
1. hąka, Giant Snake	sučêt, Armadillo
2. čepre, Bat	kêdre, Dwarf Parrot
3. čõdn, Carrion Vulture	kupẽ, Alien Tribe

Each group has both a fixed station in the plaza and a house of assembly whose position at the periphery roughly corresponds to that site in the plaza (fig. 7). However, during the pepyé festival of 1932 the meeting place of the eastern čõdn had been transposed to the western half of the circumference. The reason given for this exception was that the leader (mamkyẽ′ti) of the pepyé, who belonged to the čõdn, was to be painted in his maternal home according to the general usage applying to these officers, and that house was situated on the west side. For his sake, accordingly, the meeting place of the group itself was shifted to that side.

The purely ceremonial main functions of these groups are exercised at the initiation festivals. They set in with the very beginning of the first phase—the capture of the prospective initiates. Two specially appointed "catchers" bring the boys out of their maternal homes, alternately leading a lad from the eastern and the western plaza moieties to the plaza, where they are opposed to each other in two parallel lines. The eastern members are led to a house on the east side for their seclusion,

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Apart from their functions at initiation, the plaza groups likewise figure at the tepyarkwá (Fish Song) festival, for throughout that celebration the east and the west groups run log races. In the solemnities themselves two societies perform—the me'kẽ'n (= Aquatic Birds) or Clowns; and the "Fishes" recruited from the six plaza groups, among whom the Bats are conspicuous.

The contemporary functions of this complex scheme of three eastern and three western groups with distinctive personal names, decorative paint, and meeting houses hardly warrant its existence. I consider it possible that the present plaza groups represent clans formerly localized within the village, that these units fell into genealogical confusion, but retained their ceremonial obligations. The Akwẽ-Šerénte, like the Bororo, have moieties composed of several localized clans with ceremonial functions. Possibly the Timbira moieties shared this feature in earlier times.

Age Classes and Age Moieties

The age classes result from the boys' initiation, which accordingly requires discussion from a structural point of view, ceremonial aspects being reserved for treatment in a subsequent section.

All males pass through an approximately ten-year cycle of initiation. Those jointly initiated form a fixed lifelong age class: no one can resign or join a younger or older class. Thus, apart from the as yet uninitiated boys below, say, ten years of age, all males belong to some age class. In addition, the prospective novices at the next initiation organize in an unofficial class, mimicking so far as possible the youths' activities.

The four youngest and athletically active of the recognized classes occupy each a distinct place in the plaza, two on the east and two on the west side. This position automatically shifts with the lapse of time. Two successive entering classes always alternate as to the side of the plaza they enter: if the earlier is admitted on the east, the second inevitably goes to the west side about ten years later. With the appearance of a new class the survivors of the older active class on the same side leave the sport community, passing into the council, that is, into the very center of the plaza. The next older class of the side moves into the site thus vacated, creating in turn a gap that is filled by the newcomers. Ten years or so later the newly founded age class inaugurates a corresponding shift on the complementary side. Since the newcomers always enter on the north side, the transposition is invariably southward.

In figure 9 the as yet uninitiated boys are represented by a broken circle. The age mates completing initiation in a given year are designated as pepyé (warriors), and their position is marked by a double circle. The admission, shift, and exit of all surviving classes (as of November, 1935) are schematically represented; four classes now extinct figure with Arabic ciphers. It is thus possible to indicate the period of admission of the oldest men now living. However, the mechanism is adequately illustrated by the last three initiations (1913, 1923, 1933). All dates prior to 1923 are only approximate. Generally the span of a cycle is a decade, with positive or negative variations as great as two years.

In 1913 the cycle of age-class D (the present rópkama), which occupied the northwest site in the plaza, came to a close. Hence, the hitherto unofficial class E (the present kapranpotíkama) entered the scene opposite, that is, on the northeast, hitherto occupied by C (the present kokrụ'tkama). Hence C moved to the site of A (the present kukóekama), a class twenty years older and then the oldest of the four classes. Consequently the survivors of A left the racing association, passing into the middle of the plaza to become councilors.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

the house of the challenging team's vṵ'tẹ́'. The course of a relay race is from this house along her semicircle, thence onward. Two competitors theoretically run from the house of the challenger's vṵ'tẹ́' across the plaza to the opponents' vṵ'tẹ́' house. In the present village the ground slopes southward in some measure, so these races always proceed from the house of the vṵ'tẹ́' of the eastern age-class moiety (on the north side of the village) to the vṵ'tẹ́' house of the complementary pair.

Leaders.—The two official leaders, mamkyẽ'ti, of a class represent, respectively, the eastern and western plaza groups. Before the opening of the first initiation phase they are carefully selected by the councilors from among the prospective initiates. To begin the solemnities these two boys are led out of their mothers' houses and made to face each other in the plaza. Their badge is a fan of erect arara tail feathers worn at the back of the head. In the earlier phase, where the initiates of the eastern and the western plaza groups appear separately, each leader heads his group, all marching in Indian file. In the latter phase, where this dichotomy no longer holds, and after the close of initiation, the leader of the eastern moiety takes precedence.

These mamkyẽ'ti form part of a ceremonial aristocracy (p. 97). It is they who actually govern the age classes, being possibly the only functionaries who literally issue orders among the Canella, a task for which they are trained from the beginning. Only they have the right to summon their class fellows, who are obliged to obey the call and may not assemble without their leaders. Anyone who has dealings with a class, including the chiefs, must turn to its mamkyẽ'ti. These leaders are subject only to the council and—during the initiation period—also to the mekapónkate (instructor, commandant), who belongs to an older class, and to his deputy, the mekapónkatèkahạ́'k, the senior member of the class to be initiated.

In case of a leader's death no substitute is chosen. If both mamkyẽ'ti should die prematurely, the instructor's deputy assumes the leadership, but this is always regarded as a calamity for the class. Theoretically, the leaders are equals, but in practice the abler of the two soon gains ascendancy without, however, completely eclipsing his colleague. In contrast to the chiefs, the mamkyẽ'ti exercise no authority whatever beyond their age class.

In former times the mamkyẽ'ti led their class in war and in the chase, though always aided by one or several older men. Since warfare belongs completely to the past and communal hunting has dwindled in importance the present significance of these officers is slight—apart from ceremonial. The present situation for the several classes is as follows:

(a) The youngest class, kra'tã́'kama, is actually governed by its mekapónkate.

(b) The next older class, põhjtíkama, has two mamkyẽ'ti, but they are completely overshadowed by the personality of Kapẽrtụ́'k, the second commandant and actual leader.

(c) The kapranpotíkama have a very able and energetic leader named Yõ'ro; his colleague is no longer living. During the last pepyé ceremony of this class (1923) Cạtú was their instructor; he remained with them after the close of the initiation and from sheer devotion to his pupils continues as their nonofficial commandant. Yõ'ro still continues to regard him as a superior.

(d) The oldest active class, the rópkama, have only one mamkyẽ'ti, Koipõ'ro, the other having died.

The term mamkyẽ'ti, evidently connected with kyẽ, exogamous moiety, suggests that the leaders originally represented the exogamous halves rather than the plaza

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

616 174

moieties; or that their office dates back to a time when these two types of dual division coincided.

561 623 886

Exit from the age class.—When retiring, the kukrų'tkama, men about fifty years old, whose cycle was completed in about 1903, had dwindled to a membership of eight. Their leaders, as well as the deputy instructor, had long been dead, and the class as a unit played only a subordinate social part: meetings were rare and hardly ever fully attended in the proper site of the plaza; and there was little participation in log races. On the other hand, some of them who enjoyed a certain prestige almost regularly appeared in the council. Nevertheless they had by no means forgotten their kukrų'tkama affiliation.

When the pepyé festival of 1932 closed the initiation of the põhįtĩkama, the boys (kra'tą'kama) entering on the northeast side of the plaza, the kukrų'tkama yielded their place to the advancing kapranpotĩkama. Ten days after the festival all the survivors once more assembled in decorative paint and grass costume in order to run their last log race, in which eastern and western age classes were pitted against each other. Subsequently they did not appear jointly except in the council, with the numerically insignificant survivors of two older classes.

561 464

Economic role.—Compared with their socioceremonial and sportive importance, the economic activities of the age classes are quite subordinate. No class as such owns any property; even the place of assembly into which the vų'tę''s house is transformed belongs exclusively to her mother. At the opening of a vų'tę' season the members of a class must humbly ask for this woman's permission before starting their performances there. However, there are two occasions on which the classes engage in economic labors, though not in systematic fashion.

In the first place, they build houses for persons otherwise engaged in matters of public concern. Thus, the two junior classes erected the dwelling of a woman whose husband was a tribal delegate in the state capital. Further, even without such compelling motive the class will help a fellow member put up his house. In 1935 I witnessed the hurried erection of a house by the põhįtĩkama, whose deputy instructor's wife was looking forward to her delivery in the near future.

561 243 476 623

Secondly, age classes assist in harvesting. Since farming is growing in importance every year, the classes play an ever larger part at crop gathering, especially at the anciently nonexistent rice harvest. For meteorological reasons it is essential to harvest this crop as expeditiously as possible; though the prospective beneficiary cannot afford to abandon his crop at this time, he is often expected to attend the commencement of a major festival in the village. For several years it has been customary not to begin the great celebrations before the garnering of the rice, and to obviate delay for the whole settlement, the age classes then help those who are behind schedule. Whoever requires such aid appeals to the councilors to send him the junior age class of his own class moiety. The council decides as to the possibility of such assistance, for the class may already have been requisitioned for other tasks, and communicates the decision to two class leaders. In case of an affirmative reply the young men as a body appear at the appropriate site, for occasional dances accompanied by a number of girls of their own age. Rarely does the class receive any remuneration, consisting in that case of a small share of the crop, which the leaders subsequently arrange to have prepared for all members. As a rule the beneficiary merely feeds her assistants, who, to be sure, by no means overexert themselves, dawdling to such an extent that I was sometimes puzzled to know whether their collaboration was worth while. However, toward the end of the rice harvest they are constantly occupied.

[461]

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8
Ge St

(They exercise themselves from boyhood on in agility and strength by wrestling, running, and leaping; and lifting heavy loads to their shoulders they run three or four miles without a rest, thereby winning prizes, the highest consisting of beautiful young girls for wives.)[25]

Noteworthy is the reference to log races among the inhabitants of the province of Itatin by Techo, missionary in Paraguay from 1649–1680:

Probaban su fuerza llevando en hombros un grueso madero, y el que antes llegaba á la meta recebia honores o premios; lo mismo cuenta Lipsio de los chilenos.[26]

This author says of these Indians that they "en nada se diferenciaban de los [Guaraní] del Paraná y Uruguay por lo que se refiere á idioma y costumbres." But by "provincia de Itatin" he understood the entire region between the Paraná and the Paraguay rivers, northward to the Rio Butute (=Botetehu=Miranda), and the population of this area could not at the time have comprised solely Guaraní. As late as 1723 the Southern Kayapó extended to the Rio Nhanduhy.[27] Either Techo has this tribe in mind, or the Guaraní of Itatin had borrowed log racing from these people, their northeastern neighbors. The reference to Lipsio and the Chileans is obscure. So far as I know, nothing comparable to log racing has been reported from them.

Finally, I heard among the linguistically isolated Fulnió (Carnijó) of Aguas Bellas, state of Pernambuco, an unclear tradition of an anciently practiced log race as a matrimonial test, the suitor running with one log under each arm.

Among the Indians of Brejo dos Padres, near Jatobá, in southern Pernambuco, Estevão de Oliveira heard a significant origin myth, which he has orally communicated to me. According to this tradition, the natives practiced log racing in order to be able, if necessary, to drag along a wife when fleeing, the logs having been of comparable weight. Nothing further could be extracted from the Indians, who comprise four tribes united at the above-mentioned mission. One tribe, the Pancararú, had previously lived at Santo Antonio da Gloria, on the right bank of the São Francisco, and in the eighteenth century somewhat farther upstream on the islands of that river. The others were the Geripancó, Macarú and Quaçá.[28] The sparse word list still obtainable indicated elements of at least three distinct languages: (1) an entirely isolated tongue; (2) the likewise isolated speech of the Fulnió; (3) a Tupí dialect resembling Guaraní. It was not possible to ascertain which of the above-mentioned tribes corresponded to which languages. Culturally there was no more intimation of Gê affinity than there was linguistically.

As stated, I have several times observed miniature logs (parare) here, which were characterized as to sex by their decoration and wax breasts. This suggests the possibility that the logs may here, too, have originally represented human beings whom it was a moral obligation to bring into safety when pursued or attacked by the enemy. Pohl[29] says that when a Põrekamekra fell or was wounded in battle his comrades made every effort to carry him along, for it was reckoned most disgraceful to be captured by the enemy dead or alive.

A glance at map 3 shows that log racing is characteristic of the Gê and was only rarely diffused to neighboring aliens.

Other races.—The speed of running Timbira has always aroused the admiration of observers. It is an ascertained fact that they have often overtaken mounted men. The two murderers of chief Major Tito fled on horseback, but were pursued and

[25] Carrilho de Andrade, Memoria, 136.
[26] Techo, Historia, 4:214.
[27] Pires de Campos, Breve noticia, 437.
[28] Estevao de Oliveira, O ossoario da "Gruta do Padre."
[29] Pohl, Reise, 2:209.

/51 cont./
301 pierced and systematically enlarged holes of the ear lobes (3).
304 (Fig. 2, /see p. 15/, 15.)

[171] 3. Compare with this the similarly shaped ear-rolls observed by Karl von den Steinen among the Suyá of the Xingu, made like a tapeline out of the wide leaf-strips of the bacaba palm, with a diameter of 7 centimeters, leaf width 1.5 centimeters. See [113] Durch Zentralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886, p. 207.

301 No. 14. Ear ornament, as before, but of somewhat smaller dimensions. With a circumference of 21 centimeters, the thickness of the ring-shaped ear-disks is 2 centimeters, their diameter 6 centimeters. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 1.)

[286] No. 15. Woven upper-arm ornament (ipačẽ) with woolen tassels. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 6.)

482 No. 16. Carrying baskets with a square base and a forehead-
285 tumpline plaited out of buriti fibers (4). (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 13.)

[171] 4. An exactly analogous basket model is found among the Kayapó of the Araguaia.

126 /52/The following brief word-list was recorded directly from
174 the Canella Indians and permits one, by comparing it with the
197 corresponding words of Ehrenreich's Gradahõ vocabulary (1) and of
[114]

[113] 1. See Ehrenreich, Materialen zur Sprachenkunde /Linguistic Materials/.

the Mẽkubengokrä word-list recorded by me, to recognize a very close linguistic relationship with the Kayapó tribes of the Araguaia, whose separation from the main body of the Gẽ nation on the other side of the Tocantins may well have taken place in not too far distant times.

/52 cont./

197 distant times. According to the tribal tradition of the
● 174 Mẽkubengokrä-Kayapó their original homeland was on the Rio
Manoel Alves Grande, a tributary of the Tocantins, the present
[194] habitat of the Kra-õ (Carahõ). Phonetically the occurrence of
the pure "l" in the Canella dialect, whereas it is missing among
the Kayapó of the Araguaia, is interesting.